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against the unbelievers. The Prophet said: "I swear by God, in whose hand is my life, that marching about morning and evening to fight for religion is better than the world and everything that is in it; and verily the standing of one of you in the line of battle is better than supererogatory prayers performed in your house for sixty years." It is a religion of violence and aggression, which tolerates the continued existence of unbelievers only in the condition of slaves. To shed their blood is a meritorious act. Hence the periodic massacres of Christians. During one of these it was recently recorded, on unimpeachable authority, that an old Turk, who had done his religious duty in slaughtering a number of wretched Christians, bid his five-year-old son come and bathe his tender hands in infidel blood, so as to remember, as he grew up to be a man, that he began early to conform with the dictates of his faith.

Another good and meritorious work for a pious Moslem is to defile a Christian church in as bestial a manner as he is able to do. Forced circumcisions and conversions to Mohammedanism are publicly celebrated, and to violate a Christian girl insures to the perpetrator further recompense in Paradise. It is exactly in this manner that during their recent outbreak the Mohammedan Molhaks in India proceeded against their Hindoo neighbors, forcibly circumcising and converting them to Islam.

Whatever certain Orientalists may say of the theoretical purity of the Mohammedan religion, in practice it is a cruel, inhuman, and brutal thing. The inevitable results of its application in practice are manifest in every land where it has prevailed; and the fact that Mohammedanism is the one religion which is most acceptable to the savages of Africa on adjuring idolatry is eloquent proof of the appeal it makes to the lower animal instincts of man. The high level of material and intellectual culture attained by the Moors of Spain is an exception, traceable to the qualities of the race itself and to the surroundings in which it flourished; but that as soon as they returned to Africa their civilization vanished and they reverted to a state of barbarism can be accounted for only by the effects of the belief practiced under the original conditions of their life.

THE CAUSE OF MASSACRES

As to massacres, as some one has put it humorously, "of course there never are (*officially*) any Turkish massacres. It is only the ingrained ferocity of the Christian populations which compels the Ottoman generals and governors to have them slaughtered in order to defend their own mild-mannered coreligionists." But a great and impartial authority, the American Ambassador at Constantinople in 1915-16, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, was a first-hand witness as to the deliberate organization of the massacring of both Greeks and Armenians by the Turkish Government. He has published his evidence in a powerful and well-known book, "The Secrets of the Bosphorus." His estimate was that up to that date 400,000 Greeks were deported and massacred, and he adds: "Bedri Bey, the prefect of police at Constantinople, himself told one of my secretaries that the Turks had expelled the Greeks so successfully, that they had decided to adopt the same method to all the other races of the Empire" (p. 212).

These enormities were perpetrated under the régime of the "Young Turks," the flower of Turkish enlightenment and culture—Talaat, Enver, and the rest of that pack of assassins and criminals, whom western Europe greeted at first as the reformers and saviors of the East, because they were heavily veneered with the ways of the Parisian Café Chantant. Since then the massacres have continued unchecked and unequaled in horror, bestiality, and extent by any enormity which recent history has to record. The Armenian race has been practically wiped out; and in the Pontus, the coastal region of the Euxine, the destruction of the Greeks, established there since the expedition of the Argonauts, has presented an additional feature of Turkish inventiveness in savagery—the roasting alive of whole families shut up in their houses.

It is these savages that Monsieur Franklin Bouillon has placed, as "high contracting parties," on a level with his glorious and noble country—the France we all love so well and admire! It is of these wild beasts that panegyrics have again filled and defiled certain western European organs of publicity: "What a strange force is that of Islam, . . . which can shake empires, shatter kingdoms, and react against the greatest naval and military powers of the globe! A strange force, but a moral force, an unseizable force, a limitless force." This enraptured French panegyrist was wise not to add "a golden force," for that must have been the kind of force that had most impressed him. But he reminds me of the debasing and nauseating scenes I witnessed in my junior days of service at Constantinople, still then the happy hunting ground of Frank adventurers hungry for concessions and profitable contracts. To secure them, Christian men stopped short of no self-degradation before the Turk; some of them were known to have prostituted to the pashas even what we hold most sacred in family life. I have seen others, men of high standing and admitted talent, helplessly surrendering right judgment and independence of mind to the cajolments, the flattery, the attentions, and the Thousand-and-one-Nights' entertainments provided for them by the wily Turk, thus blasting their past records and blackening their reputations.

These ghastly scenes I witnessed with my own eyes. Disgusted and dismayed, I turned away, never again to face that cesspool of iniquity, "the Sublime Porte," that crater of confusing vapors and poisonous emanations. Alas! we know that they still turn the head of many a distinguished officer and public servant from both hemispheres.

BALKAN PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

IN THE last month or two the Balkan question has bulked largely among the political subjects discussed in the American and European press. The average reader, however, approaches the subject with a kind of hopeless feeling, much as he feels when called upon to discuss the squaring of the circle or the problem of perpetual motion. He has so long been accustomed to regard the

Balkan question as insoluble and its discussion as a completely sterile exercise that he balks as soon as he sees the name of the peninsula. The nations inhabiting it are regarded as turbulent and bloodthirsty peoples, with whom nothing can be done, and their differences as irreconcilable.

This attitude toward the question is, however, completely unjustified. The Balkan problem is today nearer solution than it ever was in its whole history. It sounds like a paradox to say so, but there really never was a Balkan question. The question, as we know it, was a purely artificial one, and if it had not been for outside interference it would have been solved long ago. If the Balkan States had been allowed to settle their differences themselves, peace would long ago have reigned in the Peninsula.

The misfortune was that behind each of the Balkan States was one of the Great Powers, which was using it as a cat's paw to advance its own interests. Bulgaria was backed by the Central Powers, Serbia had Russia as her protector, while Greece was under the influence of Great Britain and France. If the three Balkan States had been left to settle their differences unaided, a solution would have been found, either by force of arms or by diplomacy; but whenever it came to a conflict, there was always one of the Great Powers ready to intervene and prevent its particular protégé receiving the "knock-out" blow. The result was that a continual state of unrest, created and encouraged by the Great Powers for their selfish ends, existed in the Peninsula.

Up to 1912 one of the chief causes of conflict was the presence of the Ottoman power in the Balkans. In Macedonia and the Sandjak of Novi-Bazaar were hundreds of thousands of Slavs and Greeks, whose liberation from the yoke of the Turkish oppressor was the ambition of their compatriots in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece. So deep was this desire that it accomplished an apparent miracle; it caused the Balkan peoples to bury their differences in order to make common cause against their mutual enemy. Their complete and sweeping victory over Turkey in 1912 led to the redemption of the Christian section of Macedonia and incidentally to the liberation of Albania.

The expulsion of the Turk was an immense step toward peace in the Balkans. Unfortunately, it did not suit the policy of some of the Great Powers, who had no intention of allowing the Balkan peoples to escape from their tutelage and form a confederation strong enough to impose its own policy, militarily and politically. Austria and Germany at once made it their business to stir up strife between the Balkan allies, with so much success that Bulgaria was induced treacherously to attack the Serbs and Greeks. On the night of June 29, 1913, the Bulgarians, without the slightest warning, turned their guns on their allies. This led to the second Balkan war, which brought in Rumania, which had long claimed as Rumanian the province of the Dobrudja, held by Bulgaria. Turkey, too, returned to the charge and recaptured from Bulgaria the territory she had just lost in Thrace, up to and including Adrianople. Rumania wrested the Dobrudja from the vanquished Bulgaria.

King Carol's kingdom, lying, as it did, on the western side of the Danube, was not, properly speaking, a Balkan

State; but this annexation of territory on the other side of the Danube brought it into direct contact with the Peninsula and its political affairs.

As Serbia, Rumania, and Greece were now in accord and Turkey had been practically expelled from the Balkans, the problem seemed nearer a final solution than it had ever been, but for the policy and attitude of Bulgaria. That State, it was clear, refused to accept as final the solution imposed upon it by the Treaty of Bucharest and only awaited an opportunity of repudiating it and again measuring her strength against her conquerors. The Balkan unrest was, therefore, as acute as ever.

The position of Bulgaria was a peculiar one. The Bulgarians are commonly regarded as a Slav people. This is true only to a certain extent. They speak a Slav language and are Greek Orthodox in religion, but in spite of this they really belong to the Turanian race, to which the Turks and Magyars also belong. In character they differ completely from the other Balkan peoples. They are ruthless, treacherous, cruel, and ambitious to a degree. At the same time they are a very brave people (it is a mistake to imagine that cruelty implies a want of courage; the Spaniards, for instance, are a very cruel, but extremely brave, race) and are very frugal and thrifty. They have an overweening belief in themselves, and since the foundation of the Bulgarian State, in 1879, they have aspired to the hegemony of the Balkans.

The fact that they outnumbered both the Serbs and the Greeks by about a million inhabitants encouraged them in their ambition to dominate the Balkans and rendered them a continual danger to peace. The Bulgarian menace led Serbia and Greece, after the second Balkan War, to enter into an alliance for their mutual protection against any attack by their ambitious neighbor—an alliance which held Bulgaria completely in check until the outbreak of the World War. When that conflict broke out, Bulgaria saw her opportunity, with the help of the Central Powers, to take her revenge, crush Serbia, and establish herself as the dominating State in the Balkans. The Sofia Government accordingly threw itself into the struggle as the ally of Germany and Austria. Having taken their side, she shared in their defeat; and with this defeat her hope of playing the leading rôle in the Balkan Peninsula has disappeared forever.

As the result of her victory in the World War, Serbia was able to liberate her brethren of the Serbo-Croatian race from the yoke of Austria-Hungary and found the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—a State with nearly fourteen million inhabitants. Rumania took back the Dobrudja Province (which Bulgaria had reoccupied during the temporary victory of the Central Powers) and annexed the Rumanian section of Austria-Hungary—that is to say, Transylvania, the Bukovina and the Banat of Temesvar, and also the Rumanian Province of Bessarabia, hitherto held by Russia. This gave Greater Rumania a population of about fourteen millions.

Greece took back her territory around Kavalo, Drama, and Seres, which Bulgaria had seized during the war, and was further, by the Treaty of Neuilly, awarded the

Province of Thrace. As a result, the population of Greece now greatly exceeded that of Bulgaria.

As a consequence, Bulgaria, from being the largest and most powerful Balkan State, has today become the smallest and the weakest. Her five million inhabitants are surrounded by thirty-eight million Serbs, Rumanians, and Greeks. By the Treaty of Nueilly she has had to disband her army and all its reserves. The only armed force she is allowed to possess is a few thousand gendarmes for the maintenance of order in the interior.

Rumania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes have entered into an offensive and defensive alliance and there is a complete accord between these countries and Greece. Bulgaria is, therefore, now completely ringed in and held in check. The greatest cause of unrest in the Balkans, Bulgaria's ambition to be the dominant State, thus no longer exists. The only means she has of continuing to make trouble is by insisting on her claims to a certain amount of Macedonian territory which she demands because it is, she asserts, inhabited by a Bulgarian population, whose ambition it is to shake off the rule of the Serbs and the Greeks. Bulgaria keeps continually agitating in this sense in London, Paris, and Rome, in the hope of getting Great Britain, France, or Italy to espouse her cause and bring pressure to bear on the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Greece, and make these States cede the coveted territory. In the measure that she succeeds in this, she manages to keep up the feeling of unrest throughout the Peninsula.

A certain section in Bulgaria still dreams of again "fishing in troubled waters" and vaguely hopes that some combination of Turks, Bulgarians, and Magyars, with perhaps Soviet Russia, might be able to force the hand of the other Balkan States and bring about a change in the existing *status quo*. Yet another section favors, or pretends to favor, the recognition of the *fait accompli*, the acceptance by Bulgaria of her defeat, and proposes that she should ask to be admitted to the Jugoslav Confederation and allowed to join the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Now, though in theory this would be an excellent solution, there is little chance of the immediate realization of the scheme. The first thing that militates against it is the want of confidence which the Serbian State feels in Bulgaria. This, in view of its past experience, is not to be wondered at. That country, it fears, might only be seeking admission to the Serbo-Croat State with a view to disrupting it from within. The hatred between the Serbs of Serbia and the Bulgarians, due to the fiendish cruelty with which the latter behaved toward the population of Serbia during the war, is still too great for the two peoples, for the time being at least, to dwell together in peace and amity within the same State. Perhaps in fifteen or twenty years, when a new generation, which did not experience the horrors of the occupation, has grown up, such a union may be possible; but for the time being it would be premature.

Therefore, there remains Bulgaria's claim to Macedonian territory held by Serbia and Greece which it is claimed should by right be ceded to her. In making this claim the Bulgarians forget or ignore the fact that any rights they might have had have lapsed, by the fact that they took up arms against the Allied Powers and

were defeated. These acts of belligerency, followed by defeat, by all the laws of war put Bulgaria out of court. She can now claim nothing as a *right*. Such has been the rule ever since Brennus threw his sword into the scale in which the ransom of Rome was being weighed and enunciated the doctrine of "*Vae Victis*."

Bulgaria may, however, plead that in the twentieth century the principles of right and justice overrule the antiquated and harsh formulae of more barbarous times, and that her momentary lapse should not be eternally counted against her.

She therefore bases her claims rather on historical, ethnological, and national grounds. The historical claims are very weak. It may be admitted that in past ages Bulgarian kings ruled over these parts of Macedonia. But so did Greek and Serbian monarchs, not to speak of the Roman and other dominations. It is equally difficult to base any Bulgarian claims to Macedonia on national grounds. The truth is that the population of Macedonia has *no* nationality, in the strict sense of the word. It has in the past centuries been dominated by half a score of rulers of various races. Under Alexander the Great or Philip of Macedon it was, perhaps, a nation; but national patriotism has long been swept away. The population speaks Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish, with here and there a Rumanian-speaking village; but a national feeling is not yet a living force. The future is in the hands of the schoolmaster. It is according to how the coming generations will be educated that their future destinies will be decided. The mere fact that he speaks Bulgarian or Greek will not necessarily make an inhabitant of Macedonia unhappy under Serbian rule. *Ubi bene, ibi patria* is a good deal the philosophy of the average Macedonian. In the Timok province of Serbia, King Alexander has thousands of subjects of Rumanian descent who live in perfect happiness under Serbian rule and have neither the desire nor the intention of transferring their allegiance.

The distribution of the population of Macedonia is so inextricably mixed that no hard-and-fast line of cleavage is possible. No part of Macedonia could be ceded to Bulgaria in which there would not be a large number of Serbian, Greek, and Turkish speaking people. This being so, no solution of the problem is possible on historical or ethnological lines. Under these circumstances, the only principle that can be applied is the right of conquest. Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and fought against the Entente and the United States. In doing so she "backed the wrong horse" and is now paying the penalty. Territory which would have been hers after the victory of the Balkan League in 1912, she forfeited by her treachery toward her Balkan allies; and, having again betrayed the Allied Powers in 1915 by joining the Central Powers, after having led the Entente to believe for months that she was coming in on its side, this decision to deprive her of her share of the spoils of the war of 1912 was confirmed by the Peace Conference at Paris.

If Bulgaria accepts the situation which she herself has created by her selfish policy and lives in peace and good neighborliness with Greece, Serbia, and Rumania, there is no reason why she should not work out her destiny and become a rich and prosperous country,

which, later, after she has given the necessary guarantees, might be received on equal terms into the Jugoslav Confederation.

In any case she is now politically and militarily powerless for harm. She may, by an attitude of hostility, postpone the day of final reconciliation, but this depends entirely on herself and the wisdom of the statesmen who rule her destinies. But in any case the Balkan question, as the world has hitherto known it, has, as a danger to the peace of Europe, practically ceased to exist. On the contrary, since the creation of the "Little Entente" (the alliance of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia) the Balkan States have shown that they can and do contribute greatly to the equilibrium of Europe and the maintenance of the world peace.

The only other black spot on the Balkan horizon is Albania. But though the situation there may cause a certain amount of irritation and may even give rise to local disturbances, it need not become in any way an international danger. Albania claims to be a nation, and as such demands her right to liberty and independence. That she can, by language, national character, and customs, justify such a claim is beyond all question. The Albanian people have many good qualities. They are brave, hospitable, and have a rough sense of honor which makes them keep their plighted word. Being to a great extent a mountain folk, they are hardy and independent, living simple and frugal lives. In fact, they have much resemblance to and many traits of character in common with the old Scottish clans. As a primitive, independent, and liberty-loving people, they have certain claims on the sympathies of more favored nations. But, unfortunately, like the Scottish clansmen, they have the faults of their qualities. In the century-long struggle against their former Turkish masters, every man learned to bear arms and was always ready to use them. For their mutual protection they adopted the tribal system, the various clans living in their mountain fastnesses around the fortified castles of their chiefs. Blood feuds sprang up between many of the clans, and clan warfare, cattle-lifting, and village-raiding were the prevailing conditions.

The Albanians, though naturally very intelligent, are extremely ignorant, only a small proportion of the population being able to read and write. There are no railways in the country and very few roads. The harbors on the Adriatic coast are, at present, mere open roadsteads and of little use to anything larger than a fishing-boat or the local sailing vessels of small tonnage.

The difficulty which faces the Albanian people is its organization as a nation. As they number little over a million, they cannot possibly raise the money necessary for the most essential public works, such as railway construction, road-building, harbor development, posts and telegraphs, etc. The task of maintaining order among the turbulent tribesmen is also a very difficult one in a country where every one goes armed and where respect for human life is not great. The Albanians have, further, a rooted objection to paying taxes of any kind. They never did so during the time they were under the rule of the Sultan, except under the extremest compulsion, and the tax-paying habit is not one that will be easily learned by a mountain population which al-

ready has the greatest difficulty in making both ends of the family budget meet.

It is, therefore, doubtful if Albania, as an independent nation, is *viable*. The country, however, is reputed to be very rich in minerals, and there is good reason to believe that it also possesses oil possibilities of an attractive character. It might, therefore, be possible to interest foreign capital in the development of the country. But foreign capital is notoriously unwilling to undertake the development of countries where law and order cannot be guaranteed. It will, therefore, demand, as a preliminary condition, that a stable government be assured. But a stable government can only exist where the financial conditions are sound. In Albania they are non-existent. We therefore, as far as the development of Albania is concerned, find ourselves in presence of a vicious circle. Without money, no stable government can be founded; without a stable government, capitalists will not find the money.

This situation excites anxiety among Albania's neighbors, who have been too often victims of the aggression of turbulent frontier tribes, which carry out cattle-lifting and crop-seizing raids on Greek and Serbian territory. It is to this extent that Albania endangers the Balkan peace. But there is nothing in the situation which need necessarily cause international complications, and with time and patience a solution will probably be found. All that the Balkan States ask today is to be let alone politically and allowed to work out their own salvation. If European and American capital aids them economically and enables them to develop the fabulous riches of their natural resources, the process of development will be correspondingly hastened. But in any case, if Europe adopts a policy of "hands off," the Balkan question, in the old sense of the word, will cease to exist.

REALITY

By CLARE SHIPMAN

The war? The war?
The war is but a dream.
See, here are walls secure
To bound a home, and floors
On which I stand with certainty;
Outside, the city roars
In its accustomed ways,
And over all the dusk
Throws down its pencilled shade.

It is a dream that war
Has slaked his feverish thirst
With blood, and after him
Walks famine, tearing vitals,
While tears to cleanse a world
Fall wearily.
It surely is a dream.

But then,
At night, when dreams should come,
The pillow by my own
Is round and fresh and smooth.